

# MOUNTAIN

## LIFE and WORK

Volume V

January, 1930

Number IV

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Published Quarterly at Berea College, Berea, Ky., in the interest of fellowship and mutual understanding between the Appalachian Mountains and the rest of the nation

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# Mountain Life <sup>A</sup><sub>N</sub><sub>D</sub> Work

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## Mountain Life and Work

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ISSUED QUARTERLY—JANUARY, APRIL, JULY, OCTOBER  
Subscription Price \$1.00 per year. Single Copy 30c.

Entered at the Post Office at Berea, Ky., as  
second class mail matter.

ADDRESS ALL COMMUNICATIONS TO  
**MOUNTAIN LIFE AND WORK**  
BEREA, KENTUCKY

**I**NDUSTRY has been hailed as the panacea of mountain ills by some, and denounced as a curse by others. This is not to be wondered at in a nation where some worship the gods of industrialism, while others raise the question, "Can business be civilized?" But serious disturbances in the textile industry in places like Marion and Elizabethton where mountain people are employed furnish data that must be weighed by both proponents and denunciators of industrialism. The series of articles by Mr. Hoffmann, a first-hand observer of the strike, will, we hope, throw some light on this whole matter.

That Mr. Hoffmann has tried not to be controversial is evidenced by comparing any statements he makes with some contained in the report of the Marion strike by a staff member of the Federal Council of Churches:\*

"The mill workers are nearly 100 per cent Anglo-Saxon. They have come down during the last twenty years or so from the hills which are so close to Marion. No doubt in some cases they bettered their living conditions by doing

so. Many have had little opportunity for education. Some are of low mentality. But the outstanding impression one gets from talking with rank and file and especially with the leaders who are emerging is of high native intelligence, shrewd common sense, moral integrity, and latent ability."

"This schedule of hours (59½ to 67 per week) meant that the women folks got up from 4:30 to 5:00 o'clock in the morning, winter and summer, in order to get breakfast ready and get their mill workers—perhaps including the father and one or two children—off to the mill. Many of the mothers also went off to work in the mill, returning with the others at 6:15 p.m. Water then had to be carried from the pump, supper prepared, the dishes washed, and the children put to bed. . . . If the family had some day shift workers and some night shift, family life was further complicated."

"According to testimony of workers interviewed the effect of these long hours of work under conditions in cotton mill production with the almost deafening noise of the looms, the high temperature, the humidity, the dust and lint in the air, was to create extreme fatigue. They testified that in the Marion Manufacturing Company's mill no ventilating system existed, and they were not allowed to open the windows; that no spittoons were provided; that tobacco juice mingled with other refuse on the floor; that the toilets sometimes overflowed and leaked through ceilings to the toilets below, and that the drinking water fountains were installed in these toilet rooms."

"In an interview with two officers of the local union the following question was asked, 'How did it happen that outside union organizers came into Marion to stir up trouble in the first place?' The reply was decisive. 'They didn't. The organizing started among ourselves. Conditions got so bad we had to do something.'"

\* "The Strike at Marion, North Carolina", Information Service, Volume VIII, No. 47 (December 28, 1929)

## THE MOUNTAINEER IN INDUSTRY

ALFRED HOFFMANN

### *I. Stony Creek and Rayon*

Happy Valley sprawls lazily in the sun, a broad rolling country in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains. Like a pointing finger into the hills lies another valley, Stony Creek, fourteen miles long, from a half to two miles wide closed in at its upper end, with only a little trail leading back through Turkey Trot Hollow into the heart of the Appalachians, the other end leading into the once sleepy little village of Elizabethton in Carter County, East Tennessee.

Stony Creek was one of the earliest settled regions of Tennessee, dating back years before the American Revolution. Today it has three tiny crossroad settlements within its confines—Carter, Hunter, and Sadie with no more than a crossroads store, a church and school, and a cluster of houses at each. Descendants of the original settlers of the region still live in this tiny beautiful valley with a stream of cold mountain water running through its heart. It is one of the most beautiful places in Tennessee.

Hardy, quiet, lean men and rangy women, inured to hard work, remain unchanged despite the coming of industrialism to Elizabethton, which in itself portrays a sleepy past in its old old courthouse, its monument square, its covered bridge across the Holston River—just a small part of the thriving, bustling new city. The coming of the rayon plants to Elizabethton brought with it an awakening, real estate speculations, booms, concrete and asphalt streets, with sidewalks and water lines built miles beyond any present hope for home construction. Oh yes, Elizabethton had some industry before the mills came; a small twine mill and a small furniture factory, both run along easy-going, paternalistic, and friendly lines.

The coming of the mills affected Stony Creek very little; it caused talk, some excitement, but no boom in the valley. Before going further with the story of the coming of industry, it is well to consider this outstanding group of people known as the Stony Creekers. Elizabethan and old English words still abound

in their conversation. Descendants of the original settlers, the Ensor, Wilson, Cole, Taylor, Moreland, Ellis, and Ledford families still live there raising corn, wheat, cabbage, and potatoes on their little farms. Not poverty stricken, not rich, but able with farming, some lumbering, and some surface scratching for copper to make a comfortable living.

The peculiar isolation caused by the physical aspect of the valley itself forced the Stony Creekers to draw together into a definite community group. They soon found that in Carter County politics they could be a real factor by casting a solid vote, and it is their pride that practically every sheriff elected since soon after the Civil War has been a man designated by Stony Creek as their choice, and most often a native of the valley. Uncle Jake, constable, has been in that position for so long he forgets his length of service, and valley standards dictate that Uncle Jake will fill that job until he dies. At times Stony Creek, Republican in national politics, has sent its man to the State legislature, and had its choice as County Superintendent of Schools.

This sense of political power has permeated the hearts of all Creekers, and they have a respect for themselves which is so oftentimes lacking in the individual isolated mountain men. Similarly, along with political unity, there is very apparent among these people a social unity-group consciousness, or group patriotism and pride—and this group consciousness far outstrips any lines of blood kinship, which often constitute the boundaries of cooperation in other mountain sections. Socially the kitchen dance, or square dance, is the main amusement outside of going to church. The usual string band, with guitars, banjos, and fiddles, and the usual mountain type of ballad, dance music, and jig are popular. In this relation it can be said that in most homes some sort of talking machine can be found. Even though the furniture may be home made, the house built of untrimmed logs, and the floors made of rough



boards, almost always there will be a cheap music box around.

Educationally the grade-school teacher is still a man, who has to use his fists on sixteen-year-old scholars who stand six feet two and weigh a good 160 to 190 pounds. In 1929 you could find a high school in Stony Creek, but it is a new thing to the natives.

During the Civil War two Stony Creek families sprang into prominence, for "Red Fox" Ellis, the guerrilla captain, and his entire company came from this region, and one of the Ensors served as an officer in the Northern Army. During the Spanish American War the Wilsons and Coles sent out volunteers, and during the World War practically every family in the valley was represented.

The purpose of all this is merely to show that the Stony Creekers had a group pride, a group consciousness far exceeding blood lines even though new blood lines were introduced from time to time by later settlers, and that natural leadership existed and exists. This can best be summed in the words of "Dad" Wilson, seventy-eight-year-old patriarch and owner of Wilson's Cove, father of many sons, a very clannish group related to another clannish group the Peters family. "We fight among ourselves, but no outsider can come in and fight one of us. Us Stony Creekers stick together; if one of us likes a man, all of us likes him, and if one of us hates a man, all of us hates him."

The American Bemberg and Glanzstoff Corporation started its construction of factories late in 1925 and completed its first two main units in 1926. Thousands of men and women were needed to operate the mills, and were drafted from the surrounding territory, some from as far as thirty-five miles away. Stony Creek sent its sons and daughters into the mills; Hampton, Valley Forge, Shell Creek, Roan Mountain, and Elk Park did the same; and some workers straggled down from the Virginia salt mines, the West Virginia coal country, and the rural counties of North Carolina—Yancy, Mitchell, and Avery.

A diverse group made up the final operating force of the mills, but a peculiar situation immediately arose. Within the mills the Stony

Creekers soon showed a certain unity again, cooperating in the matter of going to and coming from work. Men who had been leaders in the rural community were leaders within the industrial plant. The people who came down from Shell Creek, some twenty-eight miles from Elizabethton, also showed a certain geographic unity, following the lead of the Creekers. The significance of this grouping can be illustrated later.

In the manufacture of rayons, we have what is perhaps one of the most highly mechanized and exacting sections of American Industry—intense speed, dangerous chemical combinations, acids, delicate machinery, and extremes of temperature. We may look first at what is known as the spinnerette room in the Bemberg process, in which the chemical solution is forced through tiny nozzles to form the artificial silk filature. In this process the operative is continually under a spray of water, acid, and chemicals. He stands in from a foot to two feet of water and other liquids while at work. He performs a delicate, skilled operation under the most adverse physical conditions. Hundreds of men can be seen with skin diseases and facial disfigurements caused by acid and acid burns.

In the performance of their work girls in the reeling and inspecting departments had to stand or sit, depending upon the operation, all day, working at intensely high speed under a nervous strain with supervisors continually checking up on them. These mountain girls, without prior experience in factories of any kind, were placed under a most drastic discipline, easily described as a goose-step system. To leave the operation to go to the washrooms one had to get permission from the forelady; to go more than twice a day meant a reprimand. The girls had to wear colored uniforms, a different color for each department. This rigid discipline was combined with petty persecution from inexperienced bosses, such as scolding girls for fidgeting or getting nervous while at work.

These conditions, coupled with a very low wage and the resentment of the farmers, who expected the mills to pay a decent wage, soon brought conditions to a head. In 1926 a walk-

out occurred in one department, led by Stony Creekers; this was quickly adjusted. In 1929 a general strike took place, led by mountain girls from all sections, quickly assisted by the Stony Creek and Shell Creek mountaineers and followed by all the others.

We have here a clear demonstration of the reaction of the untrained mountain man or woman to rigid discipline and exacting work. Added to this is the naturally independent spirit fostered by generations of labor in lumber and on the farm, the pride of the average mountain man, and to further complicate the situation the distrust fostered by the use of German managers and bosses, not easily understood by the native Americans.

After the first walkouts some effort was made to use natives as straw bosses. Here again a fatal mistake was made. Instead of getting natural-born leaders from the mountain regions, the plants instead brought in people recommended by a political and banking ring in the city of Elizabethton, a ring much despised by the honest mountain settlements.

The general strike which completely closed down both plants of the Corporation occurred on March 12th, and was settled on March 22nd. Within three weeks another strike occurred in April, lasting until May, when a final settlement was made.

During the first strike the workers naturally desired a union and got in touch with the American Federation of Labor. Representatives were sent in and Stony Creek marched into the Union practically as one unit. Shell Creek did the same, followed by Hampton. Throughout the long conflict—and this is not a story of strike—Stony Creek in its entirety, with the exception of two or three families, remained solid in support of the workers. Shell Creek community had one dissenting voice, a lumber operator.

Incidentally it might be added that most of the men employed in the mills earned from \$12.50 to \$16.00 per week, while the girls earned from \$8.90 to \$12.00 per week. Accompanying this low wage is a city of boom, with high prices, ridiculously high rents, and a high standard of dressing. The wages paid were ab-

solutely below the living cost level, and girls unfortunate enough to have to live in the city were rooming six and eight in one room to meet expenses.

As a result of the strike, rents dropped 50 percent, wages were increased from 25 to 50 percent, and hours were reduced. Many of the obnoxious bosses were eliminated also.

The significance of Elizabethton and its troubles does not lie in the industrial conflict, but in the psychological reactions of the people employed in those mills. It is significant that groupings caused by geographic peculiarities, by blood ties, and traits acquired from a mountain environment should so clearly be expressed under an industrial system whose entire tendency is to stamp out individual characteristics and traits.

Stony Creekers led in five strikes with spokesmen of their own, not because they are not amenable to industrial discipline, but because past experience had shown them that they have power in their unity, because their pride forced them to rebel against the petty persecution of overbearing bosses, because their spirit of independence made them revolt rather than submit to bad industrial conditions.

We have here an example of group consciousness being transplanted from a rural economic system into an industrial economic system as a whole. We find the same traits of leadership standing forth in the industrial life of these people as stood forth in their rural life. We find independence and group loyalty transformed into industrial revolt, not by outside agitators but by stupid management and goose-step discipline.

The reaction of the mountaineer to the industrial system is not always the same, and in the case of Elizabethton it was peculiar in itself. Although certain sociologists may laugh at the mention of the unwritten law and unwritten code among certain mountain groups, the experience in this case shows that such a code did exist and was used, that the thinking processes of these people during the conflict followed certain clear-cut channels as to their rights and the rights of their actions. It was clear that anyone who would go to work during

the strike became immediately an enemy to be dealt with according to the feudal code, a criminal and a pariah. To illustrate this most effectively one must look at the period of months following the resumption of work and normalcy in this region. Two persons, a man and a woman, who worked as strike-breakers and helped recruit workers during the trouble, were given the "silent" treatment in Stony Creek Valley and Shell Creek. They were ostracized socially, met with silence wherever they went, were snubbed and finally driven from the church. Both of them committed suicide.

The Valley Forge region even today is spoken of with contempt because a considerable number of strike breakers were recruited in that section. Valley Forge people are snubbed, derided, and sneered at, and any number of families have left that section to move into Stony Creek and into the City of Elizabethton. To sum it all up, strikebreakers broke faith with the group, and were punished for their transgressions.

While Stony Creek presents one picture and one side of the problem of the coming of industry into the mountain regions of the South, and the reaction of a group, Marion paints an entirely different picture and gives an entirely different angle to study of group and community consciousness, and shows the reaction of the individual.

#### *Marion*

Just over the hills from Elizabethton, in McDowell County, North Carolina, lies Marion—a little mountain town that was suddenly shaken and torn by an industrial conflict that is not yet ended, a town that has closed its eyes to misery for years and is unabashed at bloodshed.

East of Marion, perhaps a little more than a mile, lies the mill village of East Marion, where since 1908 thousands of yards of print goods have been made by the Marion Manufacturing Company. One's first impression of the mill village is mud—red mud, red mud roads, red mud walks. It nestles in a tiny valley between the hills, the only really flat place being covered by the mill itself. Dirty unpainted houses set on pillars, pumps for a water supply,

a village straggling over hillsides that have a forty-five to sixty degree grade.

Our interest is not in the village itself, but in the people who live in that village—people coaxed from small mountain farms by a tale of big money in the mills, and of good living. They have come from every section of the North Carolina mountain country, from as far back as primitive Clay County, Haywood County, the Tennessee line on the French Broad River, Mitchell, Avery, and Yancy Counties; some few from neighboring places. There are a few here from South Mountain, Vein Mountain, and from down around Grandfather Mountain; some from back of Waynesville. Mountaineers all of them—lean men, lean women, tall and rangy, patient, and easy going. There is "Dad" Moody, seventy-two, still farming right over the hill from the village, with twelve living sons, and thirty-six grandchildren. "Dad" and his boys still ride horseback, and would rather hunt than farm, but they get along comfortably well.

According to their story the mill was a good place to work until after the war, when the old management sold out to some Baltimore people. Then gradually the hours were increased, the pay cut; the houses needed paint, and prices went up in the company store. Working for a wage that averaged around \$12 and \$14 per week in 1929, the fathers and mothers scratched their heads in vain when they looked over their families of five, ten, and even sixteen mouths to feed.

But years prior to 1929 a gradual spirit of cooperation had grown up among the villagers. This cooperation can best be described in actual instances. For example, when such a momentous occasion as childbirth drew near, all the neighborhood women would get together, sometimes with a midwife and sometimes without, chase the men of the family out, and bring the child into the world. Then they would nurse the mother, and look after the rest of the family. They took turn about in cooking and cleaning until the mother was able to do her own work.

Again in the case of death, I recall the instance of a thirteen-year-old girl who after



a short illness died at three in the morning. All the neighborhood women were roused out; they prepared the corpse and laid it out, without an undertaker present, while friendly men out of a few dollars worth of lumber built a coffin or casket. Just as significant, the funeral took place the same day, and the ceremonies were presided over by a young hardy minister who worked in the mill for his living and believed that to preach for money is sinful.

Sickness—neighbors would take turn about nursing and aiding in taking care of the sick. Everyone in the village would donate foodstuffs to the family; if the one sick were an adult, a box of food would be carried to the home of the stricken family every week. During an epidemic of typhoid in the village, an entire family of five was stricken with the terrible disease. A male friend of the family nursed them until he got sick, when another friend arrived and brought them all around to health.

We have here an example of cooperation and a custom of self-help arising from the poverty in which these people found themselves, a poverty and a misery out of which they could find no path except that of cooperation.

We find arising, therefore, a community consciousness, and a tendency diametrically opposite to that of Stony Creek, where the fusion of interests was brought about by a recognition of power; here it was brought about by a recognition of weakness. The amazing thing, however, is that these people were not interrelated by marriage or blood and came from a variety of places.

One great quality of these people was their aptitude for and love for music. In the little village, a string band of twelve pieces existed, while there was a large number of two-piece and three-piece combinations, and soloists. One of the finest quartettes the writer has ever heard on or off the stage existed in the village, and every church had a fine choir. We find here the usual love for church music, hymns, spirituals, and melancholy ballads, along with sprightly dance music.

Although there are some almost perfect specimens of men among the villagers, the

women are practically all inclined to age early. It was found that the sixty-seven-hour week, in a poorly ventilated and dusty cotton mill, with a humidifying system that worked imperfectly, had done its work well, leaving a large group of people tubercular in spite of the high altitude. Dietary diseases were found prevalent, due to the poorly balanced diet consisting mainly of salt pork, white flour biscuits, corn bread, beans, rice, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, and like foods. Long hours of work made them easy prey to the epidemic diseases, made prevalent by the lack of a sewage system.

Patient, gentle, extremely religious, they gradually became, as a result of suffering, grumbling and rebellious. They began to grope for a way out of the industrial morass they found themselves in, and finally designated leaders to help them. Their choice was significant. Three men were picked—one a church man, one a textile worker with a wide experience, and one a young highly spirited and powerful personality. In their choice they chose blindly, led by instinct rather than reason, and what was more natural than to choose a church layman, a leader active in one of the most important phases of their non-working lives; a textile worker, because of his long experience; and a firebrand.

This committee proceeded cautiously and investigated various forms of labor organization, finally choosing only after consulting with building-trades workers, machinists, and any number of railroad men. In the formation of an organization they again demonstrated their peace-loving tendencies by proceeding very slowly and cautiously so as not to cause trouble. Only after twenty-five of their number had been discharged from the plant did they revolt openly. A mill management that had ignored the individual worker and was deaf to months of grumbling, suddenly was faced with a serious problem, and in meeting it treated the workers like children, threatening to spank them.

This is not the chronicle of an industrial conflict, but of the reactions of mountain men and women to an industry which had abused them for years, and of their actions during a

crisis as those actions are related to their previous life and experiences.

During ten weeks of the conflict in East Marion there was no violence; only on one occasion was there any excitement. We find asserting itself again the same cooperative spirit that had existed for years prior to any trouble. We find people with large gardens donating to all of their neighbors. We find people with cows arranging to furnish milk to families with babies, without instructions or guidance but just from natural inclination. We find the establishment of a shoe-repair shop, a barber shop, a wood committee to furnish firewood to all the villagers on strike, and a farm committee that went into the rural sections of McDowell County to gather up supplies of surplus vegetables. Magnificent cases of self-sacrifice to help one another came to our attention from time to time, and only an occasional man or woman showed selfish traits.

The men during this time immediately turned to carving and made ornately decorated walking sticks, built furniture, and carved chains and watch charms. During this period also, the musical genius of the people asserted itself, and original tunes and words depicting their struggle were composed, of course without notes but sung and played by ear. Old tunes were resurrected and new words written covering every phase of the fight. Two non-paid preachers, one with a church and one without, immediately aligned themselves with the group and acted as chaplains.

Even during the struggle no interference was tolerated with the maintenance of property and machinery, the maintenance of insurance regulation, or the installation of a new humidifying system. After ten weeks a settlement was made, which was immediately violated by the mills. During this time repeated efforts were made to avoid further trial, just as prior to the first strike four attempts were made by the workers and outside arbitrators to avoid trouble. The people were finally goaded into a second walk-out on October second, when a brutal and stupid sheriff and mill-paid deputies wounded twenty people, killed six, and maimed two for life.

There may be a moral to draw from this case or there may not be. Faced by certain economic hurdles which they could not overcome at the time, a vital and effective cooperative spirit was built up in the village by the workers themselves to overcome the high cost of medical attention and the high cost of deaths. Knowing from experience the dire need of a family when the breadwinner becomes sick, they evolved a self-help system.

A significant contrast between Stony Creek and Marion can be drawn. Stony Creekers entering industry did so without deserting the soil, with a reserve of wealth at their backs. The majority of workers in the mills were of that type, the minority depending entirely upon their mill earnings. People entering Marion divorced themselves from the soil and had no reserve to fall back on. The former group were knitted together by geographic lines rather than economic lines; the latter were drawn together by economic lines under the stress of poverty and disease.

On one hand we find the mountaineer ready to revolt easily, because of his economic status; on the other hand we find him slow to anger, slow to revolt against abuse. We find in both cases, however, that although mountaineers are supposed to be extreme individualists, environment can make them group conscious or community conscious, and from different motivating causes. Whatever may be learned from Elizabethton and Marion, there is still unanswered this question: Is industrialism beneficial to the mountaineer?

## OSARK LIFE

From Kingston, an inland village in the heart of the Arkansas Ozarks, comes *Ozark Life*. A popular folk-lore monthly, it prints stories, features, legends, nature lore, poetry—almost anything concerned with the Ozark Mountains and the inhabitants. To prospective settlers or any others interested in the Ozark Region *Ozark Life* should prove a source of interest and information. For a year's subscription send \$2.00 to Otto Earnest Rayburn, Director, The Kingscrafters, Kingston, Arkansas.



## NEW PATHS FOR A NEW DAY

M. KATHARINE BENNETT

The vigilant merchant has, at least once a year, a stock-taking time when goods are listed and appraised. The least important part of his survey is that which recounts the actual amount on hand—rather is the alert owner concerned with a study of his market and the suitability of his goods for his customers. His inventory often indicates a change in demand, and he finds himself greatly over-stocked with types of goods which, fine in themselves, are not sought. Shall he continue to push these on an overloaded and unwilling market, or shall he clear his shelves of them, take his loss, and restock with things for which there is a call? This clearing of shelves makes him watchful to study trends of buyers, and he often finds that he has been "short" on newer lines of goods that his market would purchase freely, were they offered.

Even the most primitive groups offer this same problem. Says Caroline Singer in her recent charming book, "White Africans and Black": "Long ago humble Africans in leaves and skins doubtless accepted what was handed them. That day is done. If cloth sold them fades they will not buy again. A tribe, as if by agreement, exhibits marked preference for certain color combinations; by whom or how styles are determined, no one knows. However, such preferences are subject to erratic alterations, so that traders are embarrassed by goods becoming suddenly unpopular and therefore useless. The traders aim to please."

Thus stock-taking time is a period of real stress; the best judgment of the merchant is called into service and on his decisions rests his success or failure. Can he wisely detect tendencies, weigh comparative demands, foresee results? It is not the merchant who follows his competitors laggingly whose doors are besieged by would-be buyers; it is he who has seen needs before the community itself is really aware of them and prepares himself well in advance to meet these needs. He both creates

conditions and meets successfully those which confront him.

There is a not impossible parallel between the merchant and philanthropic agencies serving a community. The latter, too, take in with them certain goods for which there is an evident need, and each year they count the increasing stock and rejoice in the accumulations. The time comes, however, when like the wise merchant they must make a more searching appraisal, one that studies the new population of the community and the changed conditions, that searches out trends, and that is prepared to withdraw or adjust institutions and plans, or even to say "it is finished."

This is the finer test of real altruism—the willingness to count all things as nothing if service be finished or no longer of the type needed. Welfare institutions are founded to meet a need; they represent a desire to give that which will most fully aid the approached group. That often it should seem that such institutions must be permanent is not surprising, for ignorance, poverty, sickness, and distress are ever in existence; this being so, surely institutions which minister to the alleviation of any of these continue to be needed. There soon grow up about the institution physical plants which complicate the question of abandonment of the type of service rendered. And with the increase of physical equipment there comes a tendency toward mental fixity of purpose which makes it difficult for those who are too near to look first at the community and its needs rather than at the institution which serves; to blame the community for lack of response rather than the institution for failing to keep pace with changing conditions.

This world is still so faulty in its adaptations, so full of ill-adjustments of people to place, conditions, and life as it is today, that service needs are almost greater than they ever were; but even the most casual student of the application of altruism to need soon comes to know that methods of a few decades—even

of one decade—ago may today not only fail of their purpose but even become harmful by stultifying the initiative of communities. Such an understanding is, however, more easy to accept in the general than in the concrete. One may acknowledge a principle but halt abruptly at the application of it to a personal problem. Then self-justification enters, and one is too near the task to secure a proper perspective. One sees actual good being done and hesitates to leave an established method for the uncertainty of an untried one.

How can one escape "the danger, never wholly avoidable, of not being completely objective in viewing a culture in which one's life is embedded, of falling into the old error of starting out, despite oneself, with emotionally weighed presuppositions, and consequently of failing ever to get outside the field one set out so bravely to objectify and study; and, granted that no one phase of living can be adequately understood without a study of all the rest, how is one to set about the investigation of anything as multifarious as the gross-total thing" that is a community, ask the authors of *Middletown*.

When, some four or five decades ago, the Southern Appalachian section began to be known to the country at large, it made an appeal all its own to those who desire to help uncared for groups. The isolation, in a land wondrously lovely, of an homogenous group of English-speaking peoples appealed to the imagination; when ballad singing, the quaint vernacular, the native industries, the stalwart honesty, the hospitality became known, altruism was reinforced by a love for the picturesque, the unusual. That the interest of the country was aroused is testified by the number of agencies, church, welfare, and individual, which in a comparatively short time found their way into mountain-locked coves and almost inaccessible spots. Schools, ranging from primary to collegiate, were opened; churches were founded to help a people inherently religious to a more intellectual and less emotional expression of faith; community centers that combined various forms of social service with industries and school work, appeared; sanita-

tion and medical service became more than names.

And not one of these agencies but was needed; what if the twentieth century, a bit of superiority in its tones, says the method was often wrong. It was the method of its day and the best that had been evolved; all credit to those who applied it freely and generously to some who had long been ignored and who were far behind the day in which they were living.

But while churches and welfare agencies were striving to bring into the mountains some of the things common to the people on the outside, inventions were transforming that outside world itself. No half century of the world's history has forced its people to readjust themselves so quickly to changed conditions as have the last fifty years. Improvement in lighting and heating, and the development of transportation and intercommunication have made life infinitely less strenuous in its physical aspects—while they have made it correspondingly difficult in the field of mind and spirit. This new day with its complex ties is knocking at the entrance of even the most isolated spots, and the mountain region of the South has seen entrance there of the latest twentieth century inventions and problems.

Unaware of the specific demands later to be made on those they were training, the agencies serving the mountains had been preparing individuals and communities for new conditions, and no one can deny that it is due to them and their service that these people have met perplexing situations with such quiet dignity. The mere fact of producing a reading generation was in itself a source of strength to the mountain people; through the new knowledge they could come into contact with the best minds of all lands. One sometimes feels that when a group has been taught both to read and to read with ease the task is done. But the ability to choose must accompany the power to secure knowledge. Here again churches and schools have served, and because they have had so immeasurably fine material with which to work, the task has been well done.

The list prepared by the Russell Sage Foun-

dation of schools maintained by denominational and independent agencies in the Southern Mountains shows 149 institutions located in eight states as follows:

Alabama	4
Georgia	8
Kentucky	35
North Carolina	31
South Carolina	4
Tennessee	36
Virginia	23
West Virginia	8

These are located in the Mountain parts of these States, in a strip approximately seven hundred miles long and two hundred miles wide, largely rural and containing no large



ONE OF THE OLD PATHS

cities and but very few large towns. These institutions report an enrollment of more than 30,000 students, while the region has an estimated population of five or six million. Service is given through day and boarding schools and includes primary schools and colleges. A brief summary such as this cannot indicate the varied character of these institutions, but their number and the numbers in attendance at them warrant an inquiry as to their present and future service.

Schools are not the only medium of service to the people of the mountains, and to the above must be added such community stations as teach industries and give medical and social service but have no regular academic work; so far as we know the number has not been

fully listed, but there are many of these stations. Churches, too, that are partially or wholly supported by outside agencies are in each state cooperating with other agencies and strengthening that impulse of which the Bishop of Winchester spoke in a recent address in New York, "The soul of all improvement is the improvement of the soul".

These institutions have not been static, nor have the agencies back of them. The earlier approach to the mountains was through the most simple efforts, tiny day schools up the coves, itinerant preaching. Conditions developed larger and more varied enterprises, and they have usually been carefully adapted to mountain changes. And it is not to be inferred that these institutions, left to themselves, would remain static in the future. It is the number rather than the type that demands united consideration, and the fact that life gallops so steadily into new phases that co-operation must strengthen all effort. Says a commercial postal card from the mountain states, voicing the local view point: "Mountain trails and mountain sunsets, sturdy hearts and Southern Mountaineers. With old walls, physical and spiritual, crumbling, new aspirations and impulses are finding outlet."

The early emphasis in the mountain service was to return students to their little homes in the lonely coves. A departure from this was heresy. Yet the day came when it was recognized that such expectation was unwise; that in those coves there was neither economic future for returned students, nor mental or spiritual opportunity; that a great number of those who should be trained must go out from the mountains to make their contribution to the world's need. Many do return to their homes, but are these the homes they left? Industry has brought a Marion and its labor problems to their immediate vicinity; a railroad has cut through the isolated cove and brought new elements of population and new conditions; state and county roads have not only brought the outsider in but have taken the insider out—and propinquity has done the rest. Shop windows are educative; paved streets and well-built houses, trains and busses stimulate

the imagination. When the radio picks out of the air the latest news, classical music, the speech of the President of the United States or that of the Prime Minister of England, and when even the radio is becoming a common factor in rural life, a new home awaits a returned student; these new forces are hastening a new day in the mountains. And the wonders of the last quarter of a century are but the beginning scientists predict, and life's tempo will soon become even more swift.

In a recent article Mr. Lee de Forest says:

"Electricity is the force men will use to propel ships, railroad trains, airplanes, automobiles. The day will come when man will draw his health from it. Through electricity man will be able to control the weather; the farmer will be able to regulate his crops.

"You will sit at home and be able to talk with, and see, a friend who may be on a steamship in the Indian Ocean or on a train in Africa. . . . .

"Coupled with radio is the great study of television. Within a year you will be able to have television in your home. . . . . You will be able within a year to sit in your home and witness a motion picture shown in a theatre many miles away. Eventually you will see in your home the reproduction of big outdoor spectacles such as football games, though this miracle will have to wait new inventions".

"Health-giving ultra-violet rays will be used universally. These rays penetrate where visible light does not, so it will be simple to install the equipment in hidden crevices in the walls—in the home, the office or the factory—so the rays will be constantly permeating the atmosphere. There will be a marked decline in disease such as *tuberculosis, rheumatism, rickets, and so on.*"

It is in preparation for the home that is to be that students of today must be trained, for a home where mind will be stormed by influences good and bad, and where conscience must make quick choices between right and wrong.

State graded schools are replacing the "little red school house", attractive in retrospect rather than in fact; state and county agents

are teaching health needs, sanitation, farming, cattle and poultry raising, dressmaking, cooking, to those who live away from towns. These are taking over many of the services formerly provided by church and welfare agencies.

All these elements must enter into any question of the continuing service of churches and welfare groups. They planned their service to meet certain conditions. In many places those conditions have vanished, to be replaced by others, not always as good, but certainly different. Does the service planned for 1890 meet the needs of 1930, or must it be replaced? Are there places from which outside agencies should withdraw that the local group may develop greater initiative? Is there too much



COURT DAY ON TROUBLESOME

service or too little? Each group is so busy with its own pressing demands that it seems as though it cannot pause to evaluate its service. But has not the day come when such questions as these must be faced unitedly and seriously?

No survey by outside research groups seems so necessary as does the sincere study of programs by agencies now at work with the purpose of reshaping them when necessary, of giving as much aid as needs to be given to stimulate local peoples, but no more; of doing the best thing and not the second best. No agency can do this alone; all must frankly bring their programs and their perplexities to be placed on a common table, there to be studied in the light of the service of all. And all must come to that table in the spirit of open-mindedness, which



can be the only basis for adjustments and change.

Can divided, unsystematized efforts grapple with the intense life that is facing the people of the mountains? Must not a commanding pro-

if then it can move at the impulse of its own desires?

The twentieth century has new methods of service, has a technique of withholding service at the crucial moment. The newer altruistic



MODES OF TRAVEL THAT ARE PASSING

gram scientifically adjusted to need, eliminating waste of people, money, and equipment, replace the individualistic programizing of the past, however warranted that may have been when inaugurated?

Is all opportunity for local initiative smothered by too much aid?

Is it better for a group to move more slowly

service is more subtle, less evident and direct, less simple and easy in its methods, because of the changed influences that it must meet. But it is of its day—and so must be those agencies that serve the mountains. No one of them can assume to be satisfied or complacent—there deterioration threatens. "Nothing," says Dr. Fosdick, "is more fatal than changelessness in a changing world."

## A COOPERATIVE SURVEY OF THE MOUNTAINS

### REPORT OF A CONFERENCE

Because of repeated expressions from different sources of the need of an up-to-date survey of the Southern Mountains, an informal but significant meeting was held at the Russell Sage Foundation in New York on November 25th. The meeting was called by the Secretary of the Conference of Southern Mountain Workers to discuss the importance of this need and to consider the possibility of cooperation to this end. The group was made up of those who had expressed active interest in such a project and, as shown by the personnel given at the end of the report, was representative of both private and public agencies, of those engaged already

in mountain work or interested because of its national significance.

Dr. Thomas Cooper, Dean of the College of Agriculture and Director of Extension of the University of Kentucky, acted as chairman of the meeting. In an opening speech, Mrs. Olive D. Campbell, long an earnest student of mountain conditions, called attention to the number of partial surveys already made, and the number of those projected. She then gave a brief analysis of the situation that faces mountain workers today. When Mr. Campbell started his work in 1908, the Southern Mountain area had not even been defined; Churches



and Boards were thinking mainly in terms of small localities, and the need of private schools to take the place of inadequate public school education. As a result of his years of experience and study, Mr. Campbell's book, "The Southern Highlander and His Homeland," was written and published (1921). In that he defined the boundaries, the people, the resources, and the fundamental problems. The book remains and will remain for many years a sound basis for our thinking, but the rapid changes of the last decade—roads, industrial development, better public schools, and many other factors—are making acute the questions that Mr. Campbell raised, and are raising still others most difficult to answer:

Are the private schools competing with public schools and thus hindering healthy growth of a good public school system?

Do we develop leaders—the purpose generally claimed for the private school—or do the students graduating from our schools leave the rural sections most needing help for regions of wider opportunity?

Is it possible to have a *full* life in the mountains, or should we help students to leave?

Can there be an adequate living on the soil?

How can people make a living?

Where are the areas clearly unsuited to agriculture?

Where is there over-population?

Will industry solve the problem, and what bearing have Elizabethton, Marion, and Gastonia on the question?

Is there a dynamic process at work that is really meeting the economic, social, and spiritual needs of the people?

The discussion following the opening address revealed clearly that our attempted answers to these questions were based upon opinions rather than facts; that such material as had been collected was not being used; that although the annual conference in Knoxville, the quarterly, Mountain Life and Work, and independent studies of particular problems or areas, were helpful in stimulating thinking, nevertheless a real fact basis was needed before

the work that was being carried on in the Southern Mountain area could be intelligently evaluated. There was a unanimity of feeling that, viewing the situation as a whole, there were (1) lack of clear thinking as to purpose, (2) duplication of effort and perhaps unwise policies, and, therefore (3) a possible waste of funds that could be remedied only by a full and careful study and a frank facing of the problems.

This need was expressed not only by Church Boards, but by representatives of the government agencies—the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, of Washington, D. C., and the Land Grant Colleges of the Southern States that include mountain territory in their areas.

A recent publication of the Russell Sage Foundation, "Southern Mountain Schools," which lists 149 schools maintained by denominational and independent agencies engaged in mountain work and supported by appeals to the public either through churches or independently, was a challenge to the thought of the group. Taking \$30,000 as an average budget—a very modest estimate, considering the number of larger schools and colleges in the list—there would be an annual investment of approximately four and one-half millions in private schools alone, not taking into account the many church, community, and health activities not listed in the bulletin. The question we must answer is whether this sum as a whole is wisely invested. One striking example of the need for facts was cited by a representative of one of the Church Boards. In attempting to evaluate a particular piece of work and decide upon the wisest procedure, advice was sought from different people who from experience and knowledge would be supposed to have wisdom about the situation. The answers showed a divergence of opinion varying from closing the work altogether to a great increase in the investment. There were no authoritative facts to help in the solution.

Another need disclosed by the discussion was a clearing house for the information already secured. It was reported that studies had been made that would be most helpful if people knew of them and could secure them, such as the federal and state surveys made recently of

Laurel County, Kentucky, and Overton County, Tennessee. The Home Missions Council reported a study that is now being made of church conditions in the Ozarks and their plan for a similar one in the Southern Mountains. It has already been revealed that 96 denominations are at work in the mountain counties of Missouri and Arkansas. In a more comprehensive study this material could be gathered together, interpreted, and made useful to all.

This frank laying on the table of the needs felt by the group led to important action. It was voted that a committee be appointed with Dr. Thomas Cooper as Chairman to plan a survey, and to seek cooperation from Federal agencies, the State Colleges, the Church Boards actively engaged in the field, and Foundations and other agencies that might be interested in furthering such a worthy cause. Mrs. Olive D. Campbell, Director of John C. Campbell Folk School, Brasstown, N. C.; Dr. Herman Morse of the Home Missions Council; Mr. Allen Eaton of the Russell Sage Foundation; and Miss Helen H. Dingman, Secretary of the Conference of Southern Mountain Workers, were appointed to serve on the committee with Dr. Cooper. The Committee was given power to add to their number other members who would be helpful in working out the project, and to word resolutions to be used in approaching the agencies named above for the cooperation that would be needed. A motion was made and passed that a report of the meeting be written by the secretary and mimeographed for distribution to those in attendance at the meeting and to all members of the Advisory Council of the Conference of Southern Mountain Workers.

After votes of thanks had been passed to those who called the meeting, and to the Russell Sage Foundation for its hospitality, the meeting adjourned. A most helpful step with possible far-reaching results in the work of the Southern Mountains!

Personnel of group attending Conference:

Miss Edna Beardsley, Woman's Auxiliary, The National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church.

Mrs. Fred S. Bennett, Board of National

Missions, Presbyterian Church U. S. A., and Council of Women for Home Missions.

Miss Josephine Chapin Brown, Associate Field Director, American Association for Organizing Family Social Work.

Mrs. Olive D. Campbell, John C. Campbell Folk School, Brasstown, N. C.

Rev. Franklin J. Clark, The National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church.

Dr. Thomas Cooper, Dean College of Agriculture and Director of Extension, University of Kentucky.

Dean Carroll M. Davis, The National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church.

Miss Helen H. Dingman, Secretary of Conference of Southern Mountain Workers.

Mr. Allen Eaton, Department Surveys and Exhibits, Russell Sage Foundation.

Dr. Arthur H. Estabrook, Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Dr. William J. Hutchins, President of Berea College, Berea, Kentucky.

Dr. William R. King, Home Missions Council.

Mr. Benson Y. Landis, American Country Life Association.

Miss Jessie Mechern, Pittman Community, Sevierville, Tennessee.

Miss Mary Samson, Board of Home Missions, Methodist Episcopal Church.

Miss Anna Scott, Division of Schools and Hospitals, Board of National Missions.

Miss Elizabeth Smith, Formerly Director of Public Welfare, Cherokee County, North Carolina.

Mr. H. R. Tolley, Assistant Chief, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Warren H. Wilson, Department of Town and Country Work, Board of National Missions, Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.

# THE REAL MOUNTAIN PROBLEM OF SOUTH CAROLINA

ARTHUR H. ESTABROOK

One often sees in print the statement that there are six million Americans of the purest Anglo-Saxon blood "pocketed" in the hills of the Southern Highlands. While there are approximately six million people in the area defined as the Southern Highlands, not all of them live in the mountains proper nor can all be considered as being "pocketed," that is, living in areas that are underprivileged because of the mountain topography. A study of the section of South Carolina designated as mountain indicates this quite clearly.

The four northwestern counties of South Carolina, Oconee, Pickens, Greenville, and Spartanburg, located in the Blue Ridge belt, are defined as mountain counties by accepted authorities. The total population of these counties in 1910 was 204,601. In 1920, their population was 241,209, approximately a twenty per cent increase in a decade. A geographical survey of the area covered by these counties shows that only a small section of it, the extreme northwestern part, is actually mountainous. The greater part lies in the Piedmont Plateau on the south, a comparatively well-developed region, industrially and agriculturally. The map shows the northern half of the whole area with the minor civil divisions indicated. A line has been drawn across the map, roughly locating the southeastern foot of the Blue Ridge range, which separates the actual mountain region from the Piedmont Plateau section. Investigation has shown that this line also marks the division between the privileged and underprivileged area in the four counties considered. This conclusion was arrived at after field investigation and consultations with local authorities, county farm agents, social workers, etc. Only the actual mountain section of South Carolina, therefore, can possibly be considered an underprivileged area where the people are "pocketed."

Spartanburg county was eliminated immediately as non-mountain, as all of its territory was found to fall in the Piedmont Plateau

or the privileged area of the four so-called mountain counties.

An analysis of the population of the actual mountain and correspondingly underprivileged area was made. The line designating the division between the Piedmont Plateau and the actual mountain region in two counties did not entirely coincide with the minor civil division lines, so their populations were estimated either on an area basis as in Oconee county or by the counting of houses on the United States Soil Survey map as in Greenville county. Ascertaining the actual mountain population of Pickens county was more simple and accurate as both lines coincided. While it is conceded there may be a margin of error in estimating the population of the actual mountain territory by these methods, it is not sufficiently great to interfere with the general conclusions.

Table One gives the underprivileged population, by townships, for the last three census dates. The total population of each county is also shown. In 1920, Oconee county had 3,257 persons in its underprivileged area; Pickens, 1,566; Greenville, 2,575. Thus 7,398 individuals were found in 1920 in the actual mountain and underprivileged area of South Carolina. In this same area in 1910, 8,179 people were living, while in 1900, there were 9,087. A steady decrease in population of the townships in the underprivileged section of these counties has taken place except in Keowee township, Oconee county, where there has been an increase of over 50 per cent in twenty years. The increase of population in Keowee township has probably occurred in the southern half of the township, which lies in the privileged area. Even considering the increase of population in Keowee township, the population of the underprivileged area of the three counties (Spartanburg county already being eliminated) decreased ten per cent in the decade of 1900 to 1910 and another nine per cent in the last census decade.

The table shows that the actual population of the three counties considered is only five per cent of the total population, yet it occupies approximately one-fourth of their total area. In the last two decades, the real mountain population has been slowly decreasing, a steady migration to the cotton mills to the south having taken place.

An analysis of the statistics on literacy, farm values, industrial development, school populations, etc., in the three so-called mountain counties considered indicates that they compare favorably with those of the state as a whole.

Data from the United States census records on the composition of the population of these three counties and the state are presented in table two. The counties studied, as well as the state, have a predominantly native-born population. The foreign born are found mostly in the cities and towns and are engaged in small business enterprises. Few of them are farmers. Greenville county has the largest population of

foreign born and native white of foreign parentage, the proportion of which is but 1.4 per cent of its total population and less than that of the state, which is only a little above 2.3 per cent. Negroes form approximately one-half of the population of the state but only one-fourth of the population of the counties studied. They are found almost exclusively in the plateau section.

The amount of illiteracy in both the native white and in the negro population has decreased considerably in the last decade over the whole state. Illiteracy in the native white population in South Carolina, ten years of age and over, decreased from 10.3 per cent in 1910 to 6.5 in 1920. The mountain counties, in 1910, had a higher per cent of illiteracy among the native white population than the state at large. The highest at that time was Oconee with 15.5 per cent, Pickens, 14.7, and Greenville, 11.2. In 1920, Greenville fell below the state rate of 6.5 per cent, Pickens just above, while that of

Table 1.  
TABLES OF POPULATION OF UNDERPRIVILEGED AREA IN MOUNTAINS OF SOUTH CAROLINA.  
1900-1910-1920.

	1920	1910	1900
<b>OCONEE COUNTY:</b>			
Total population . . . . .	30,177	27,337	23,634
<b>UNDERPRIVILEGED AREA:</b>			
Pulaski township—one-half of area . . . . .	272	360	415
Chatooga . . . . .	579	679	753
Whitewater . . . . .	506	603	799
Keowee—one-half of area . . . . .	1,900	1,550	1,236
Total underprivileged . . . . .	3,257	3,192	3,203
<b>PICKENS COUNTY:</b>			
Total population . . . . .	28,329	25,422	19,375
<b>UNDERPRIVILEGED AREA:</b>			
Eastatoe township . . . . .	784	940	1,244
Pumpkintown . . . . .	782	863	968
Total underprivileged . . . . .	1,566	1,803	2,212
<b>GREENVILLE COUNTY:</b>			
Total population . . . . .	88,498	68,377	53,490
<b>UNDERPRIVILEGED AREA:</b>			
Cleveland township . . . . .	490	607	871
Saluda—74.2% of population estimated by counting houses . . . . .	876	1,177	1,258
Glassy Mountain . . . . .	1,125	1,320	1,467
Bates—28 houses . . . . .	84	80	76
Total underprivileged . . . . .	2,575	3,184	3,672
<b>THREE COUNTIES:</b>			
Total underprivileged . . . . .	7,398	8,179	9,087



Oconee dropped to 9.0 per cent. The census records do not give the illiteracy figures by townships; so it was impossible to ascertain whether the mountain sections of the counties have a higher illiteracy rate than the plateau section. It is probable, however, that there has been less change of the illiteracy rate in the mountain sections than in the plateau region.

In 1926, Oconee county, with the highest illiteracy rate in the native white population of the mountain counties, had six four-year public high schools (all white), one three-year, and two two-year high schools, with an enrollment of 889. Based on the 1920 census figures, 37.6 per thousand of the native white population were enrolled in high schools. In addition, there was also a private academy located in the mountains of the county. At the same time, Pickens county, with an illiteracy rate of 7.2 per thousand, had seven high schools, four of which were standard high schools, with an enrollment of 851, a rate of 36.4 per thousand of the whole population. Forty-two per thousand of the white population, or 2709, in Greenville county were enrolled in its twelve high schools. Deducting Greenville and Parker, cities in Greenville county whose population in 1920 was 43,441, with a high school population of 1525, there were still 1184 high school students in the rural population of Greenville county of ap-

proximately 30,000, an incidence of forty high school students per thousand of the population. The high school population for the state of South Carolina was 33,649 in 1926, or 41.4 per thousand of the white population.

The gain in high school attendance in Oconee, the county with the highest illiteracy rate, was 52 per cent in the period from 1923-4 to 1927-8. Pickens had a smaller increase, 35 per cent, during the same period, while Greenville had a gain of 81 per cent. The state gain at the same time was only 45.3 per cent.

The geographical location of the various high schools in the northern half of these three mountain counties studied is shown on the map. Several are in the plateau section close to the foothill line of the mountains. None are in the actual mountain section. The top of the Blue Ridge Mountain, the most distant point in the mountain section of South Carolina, is about fifteen miles from a high school. Few people reside here, however. The greater part of the total mountain population lives not more than ten miles from some high school. At least one half is within five miles distance of a high school, which is not a prohibitive distance even where road and travel conditions are poor. The greater proportion of the mountain population, therefore, has access to high school.

The three counties studied have a high land

Table 2.  
POPULATION STATISTICS  
SOUTH CAROLINA AND THREE MOUNTAIN COUNTIES.

	South Carolina	Oconee	Pickens	Greenville
Total population	1,683,724	30,117	28,329	88,498
Native white	812,137	23,642	23,391	64,545
Native white, native parents	799,418	23,448	23,370	63,764
Native white, mixed or foreign parents	12,719	194	21	781
Foreign born white	6,401	77	7	489
Negro	864,719	6,398	4,931	23,461
ILLITERACY—1920:				
Native white population 10 and over 10 years of age	593,709	16,643	16,304	47,266
Native white illiterate	38,742	1,490	1,175	2,983
Per cent native white illiterate	6.5	9.0	7.2	6.3
Per cent negro illiterate	29.3	25.2	27.2	23.7
ILLITERACY—1910:				
Native white population 10 and over 10 years of age	487,909	14,301	13,805	34,004
Native white illiterate	50,245	2,212	2,023	3,792
Per cent native white illiterate	10.3	15.5	14.7	11.2
Per cent negro illiterate	38.7	30.9	38.0	33.3



value and agricultural productivity and an extensive industrial development. The total average farm values in the actual mountain section have been low, yet according to the United States farm census of 1925, Oconee county as a unit rated slightly above the state average, Pickens 1 per cent higher, and Greenville 31 per cent. The average value of land and building per acre in Oconee, the more rugged of the three counties, was slightly less than the state average; in Pickens, greater, and in Greenville county, twice the state average. Greenville county had 20 per cent more native white farmers than the state as a whole; Oconee and Pickens had twice as many. Concurrent with the increase in agricultural activity and production, there has been a very rapid increase in the construction of cotton mills in the plateau region of these three counties, particularly during the last decade. Oconee, the most rural of the three counties, had 119,000 cotton spindles and 2,400 looms in 1928. Greenville had at the same time over three-fourths of a million spindles and 22,000 looms. Selection of this area for the cotton mill development was partially based on the presence of available cheap native white labor in the adjacent Blue Ridge Mountains. Greenville and Pickens counties now have more wage earners in manufacturing establishments per thousand of the popu-

lation than the state as a whole, and Oconee is only slightly below the state average. Many of the farmers work in the mills during the winter to supplement their total cash income. The number of such farmers working periodically in the mills is not listed.

Marked economic and social changes have taken place in these counties since the recent agricultural development and the increase in manufacturing activities. The bank deposits in two of these counties, Oconee and Pickens, are only slightly below the state average per unit population. That of Greenville greatly exceeds it. The number of federal income tax payments per thousand of the population in 1924 in Oconee and Pickens was much below the state level. There were a number of individuals in both counties, however, who had net incomes of over \$5,000. In Greenville county, where the greater concentration of the cotton mills is found, the number paying income tax greatly exceeded the state average.

More automobiles per thousand of the population were owned in each of the three mountain counties studied than in the state as a whole. The high incidence of automobile ownership was due partly to the high economic level of the plateau section of the counties and its good roads. One hard surface road and two earth type main highways have already been

Table 3.  
HIGH SCHOOL POPULATION IN THREE MOUNTAIN COUNTIES AND WHOLE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

County	Population 1920		High School Enrollment, White					Per cent gain from 1923-4 to 1927-8
	Total	Native White	October, 1923-4 No.	Year 1925-6		Year 1927-8		
				No.	No. per 1000 White Population	No.	No. per 1000	
Oconee.....	30,117	23,642	628	889	37.6	956	36.8	52.2
Pickens.....	28,329	23,391	520	851	36.4	702	27.3	35.0
Greenville.....	88,498	64,545	1,723	2,709	42.0	3,125	44.0	81.3
South Carolina..	1,683,724	812,137	24,613	33,649	41.4	35,782	40.0	45.3

Data from U. S. Census records, Directory of the High Schools of South Carolina, 1926, and from Sixtieth Annual Report State Superintendent of Education of South Carolina, 1928.

Population, South Carolina, estimated by U. S. Census, 1,864,000, base figure used in 1928 percentages.

completed through the mountain section of these counties into North Carolina and Georgia and two others are now under construction. The mountain section of Oconee, which occupies about one third of the total area of the county, is the largest of the three counties. Pickens county is about one-fourth mountain; Green-

sections, they are not sufficiently extensive to prevent the county average from equaling the state levels in most instances and being superior in some.

Assuming the state averages as criteria, the three so-called mountain counties studied in South Carolina cannot be considered under-

Table 4.  
AGRICULTURAL AND ECONOMIC DATA OF STATE AND THREE MOUNTAIN COUNTIES OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

	South Carolina	Oconee	Pickens	Greenville
Native white farmers, 1925.....	83,542	3,350	2,848	4,829
Number per thousand population.....	49.6	111.2	100.6	54.5
Average value of farm property per farm, 1925.....	\$3,028	\$3,141	\$3,468	\$3,979
Average value per acre, farm land and buildings, 1925.....	43.01	38.85	48.07	84.40
Manufactures: U. S. Census, 1920—				
Number of establishments.....	2,004	37	26	116
Number of wage earners.....	79,450	988	1,762	8,017
Number per thousand population.....	47.1	32.8	62.2	90.5
Number of individuals paying federal income tax, 1924.....	28,090	177	226	3,091
Number per thousand population.....	16.1	5.7	7.7	32.3
Number with net income over \$5,000, in 1924.....	2,112	20	19	360
Automotive equipment, 1926:				
Total number.....	171,513	3,203	3,984	16,623
Number per thousand population.....	101.9	106.4	140.6	187.8
Bank deposits in thousands, 1926.....	219,307	3,082	2,649	17,204
Amount per thousand population.....	130.2	102.3	93.5	194.3

ville one-sixth. No point in the mountain section of Oconee is now more than ten miles from improved roads, and the mountain sections of the other two counties are even less isolated.

The present opportunities for factory work in the cotton mills and for the sale of garden products in the industrial sections, together with the construction of several main highways through the mountain sections to adjoining states,

have rendered the mountain area of these counties less isolated and underprivileged than before. While the educational, social, and economic conditions in the mountain sections admittedly are below those of the better plateau

privileged. Notwithstanding the fact that one twentieth of their population resides under distinctly underprivileged conditions, their citizens for the most part enjoy opportunities for economic and social advancement equal to those in the state as a whole.

There are few counties in the United States, with perhaps the exception of some of the plain counties in the middle west, but have some sections

within them that are underprivileged because of soil, topography, location, or other reasons. The presence of small underprivileged areas in a county does not permit one to classify the entire county as underprivileged, when gen-

TABLE 5  
Number of spindles and looms in the three counties,  
January, 1928

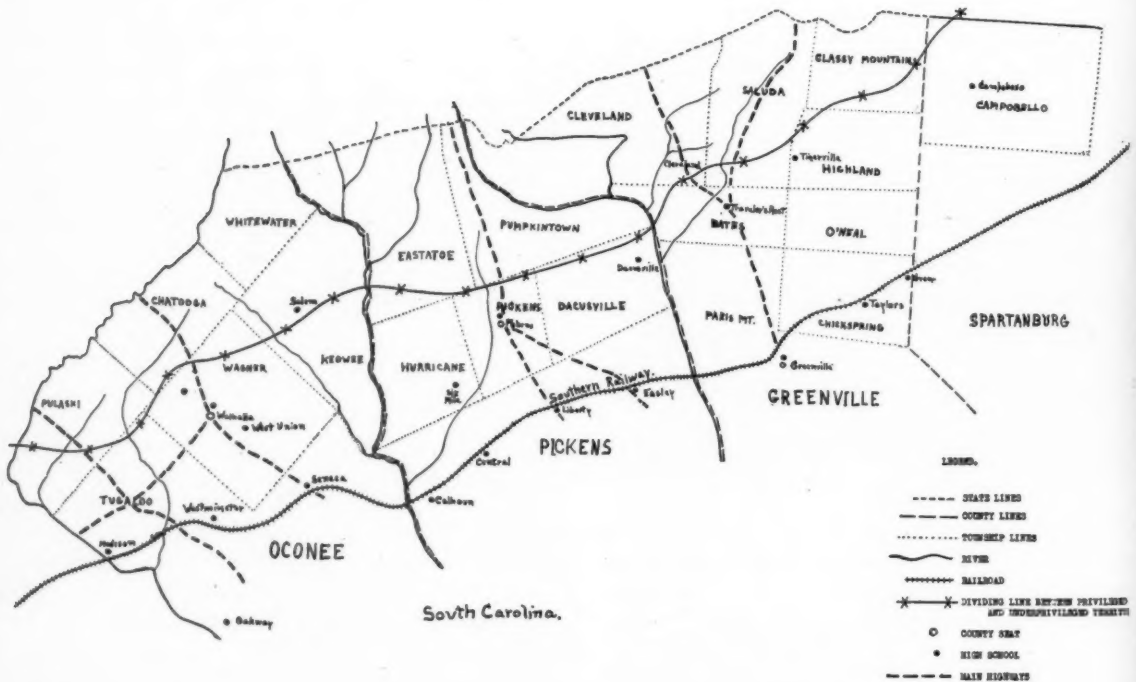
	Spindles	Looms
Greenville	835,736	21,843
Pickens	229,120	5,604
Oconee	11,816	2,374

Compiled from Textile Directory, Southern Railway System, January, 1928

eral economic and social conditions are equal or superior to state levels.

In the southern part of the United States the county is the political and social unit. Social and educational problems are usually worked out on a county-wide basis. The four counties in South Carolina, Spartanburg, Greenville, Pickens, and Oconee, designated as mountain counties, present no general county-wide problems or situations which can be called pecu-

liarily "mountain". The term "mountain," with its usual connotation of underprivilege and backwardness, when used in reference to these counties, should be reserved for their northern territory. Even so, when considering the rapidly changing social, educational, and economic conditions now taking place within the actual mountain areas of these counties, it is doubtful whether they can much longer be considered underprivileged.



## Progress of Vocational Education at Epworth Seminary

L. E. Cox

The Epworth Seminary at Epworth, Georgia, first offered Smith-Hughes Vocational Agriculture to students five years ago. Although this new department was looked upon as an experimental venture, from the very first year the school has won leading places in competition with all of the schools that teach vocational agriculture in Georgia. The department offers the agricultural training which prepares boys of this rural community for their life work of farming, and in many ways satisfies a long-felt need in this mountain community. A farm survey revealed the fact that too large a percentage of the farm boys in this mountain section of North Georgia were not completing their education beyond the grade



A CLASS IN PRUNING

school—many of them staying at home to work on the farm, others spending part of the year working in the mines or at other public work. Now many of these bright lads are readily induced to come on to high school, because they can get training for the vocation which they expect to pursue.

W. H. Patton, who was head of this institution, was responsible for getting this work started in the Seminary, and the writer, who was born and reared on a farm in this county (Fannin) and is a graduate of the Georgia Agricultural College, has been employed from the beginning to teach this course, including

manual training. The first year thirteen students enrolled for agriculture. They completed their farm crop projects 100 per cent, and most of them produced record crop yields, the valuation of the crops produced averaging \$200.

Students are taught how to build up the fertility of their soils and to diversify their crops. Even though their farm projects may be of comparatively small acreage, they are urged to balance their crop program by growing a crop to sell for cash, a crop to supply home needs such as feeds for livestock, and a maintenance crop such as vetch, clover, or other legumes, which put nitrogen in the soil and when turned under supply organic matter. Ninety per cent of our all-day students planted vetch or other winter legumes last year. These enriched their soils and gave them economic yields from crops that grew on the same land the past season. Some students grew splendid crops of soy beans.

Nineteen students in the day unit class last year were given lessons on poultry. They secured eggs or baby chicks from good strains of their favorite breeds of chickens and grew some nice flocks as their agricultural projects. Their teacher had a large flock of Barred Plymouth Rocks from which he supplied several of these students with settings of eggs. For each setting they paid back a pullet during the summer. Most of these students succeeded well and have a nice start in poultry.

Farmers and farmerettes alike are admitted to the evening classes, which are taught each year during February and March. Meetings are held twice a week for an hour and a half at night until twelve lessons are given. Each student enrolled is expected to list some farm crop or animal project and to put forth special effort in the developing of that project. In evening classes taught at the Seminary during the past three years, thirty farmers enrolled for soil building, sixty for poultry, and forty-three for fruit and vegetable growing. These farmers return to their homes from the eve-



ning school intent upon the practice of the better methods of farming. Interest in the growth of pure seed and better live stock is becoming more generally apparent in this community. Many commercial and home orchards are being developed. The owners are eager to get and properly apply the information necessary to succeed with these enterprises. Orchardmen are becoming more proficient in pruning and spraying.

The school farm, which consists of two acres, is devoted largely to experimental purposes. During the past two years fourteen different varieties of corn have been grown in one section. One third of these varieties consists of the best corn grown in this community,



L. E. COX

and the other varieties are secured from the Georgia State College of Agriculture. An effective test was made with four different grades of commercial fertilizers on a piece of corn. A comparison is being made at this time in the growth of vetch and Austrian winter peas. These tests are all proving to be interesting and profitable.

Part of the farm is devoted to truck farming this year. Seed is regularly contributed free by a leading Georgia seedsman. Most of the fertilizers to run these tests and demonstrations are supplied free by different companies. While benefitting by these tests, the students learn on this farm how to select seed

corn in the field, how to hill select seed potatoes, and how to store potatoes, cabbage, etc. A pressure cooker and can sealer are used to demonstrate how the surplus vegetables that might go to waste can quickly and profitably be preserved.

In the fall the school usually puts on an agricultural fair, which is proving more and more successful. Students like to bring from their farms projects displays, as corn, potatoes, fruits, animals, canned goods, and flowers. This mutual interest in producing crops and farm commodities of superior quality is of great value to the community. Plans are being made to enlarge these fairs through cooperative effort of the community with the school, in order that a much greater number of people may profit thereby.

The agricultural students are given instructions and practice in the shop, making and repairing farm implements, feed troughs, singletrees, etc. The manual training students make valuable furniture which either furnishes the school or is used by them in their homes. They acquire skill in finishing work, in painting and varnishing. They are proud of the articles which they make. These students in the vocational departments are taught the important lessons of farm and home economy, for they learn to repair broken tools, furniture, etc., greatly prolonging the period of usefulness of these articles. The watchword is "learn to do by doing." During the last week of school the students assemble all of the articles which they have made during the year and put them on display. Parents and friends view these displays with delight.

An old residence has been used for a shop until the present, but as the classes have grown too large for the room it has been found necessary to erect a new shop building. The students have gone to work and will soon have finished a building that measures twenty-four by forty feet. This work has been done at class periods during the past two months with the assistance of the teacher and one carpenter working part of the time.

That this work has borne fruit is amply indicated by the achievement of the pupils.



Take for example the "Community Improvement Contest," in which students are judged on the basis of forty-one different jobs at which they can work in their homes and schools between November and April. Though the one hundred and forty or so schools in Georgia that teach vocational agriculture are divided into only five districts, this school has won its district banner each year and has placed second in the state for the last two years.

The school has also received some honor in the classification which the Georgia State College of Agriculture makes of the efficiency of the work of the vocational teachers of the state. In 1927, the first year of the award, Epworth Seminary took first place, and the next year ranked second. Moreover, in 1928, the school had the "Master Teacher" of the northwest Georgia district.

Perhaps the most interesting achievement, however, has resulted from the organization of a chapter of the Future Farmers of Georgia, whose members participate in such activities as operating a thrift bank, demonstrating so-

lutions of farm problems, and taking part in agricultural discussions and debates. At the annual state convention held at Athens in July, one of Epworth's representatives was elected to the executive committee, another elected state treasurer, and a third was promoted to the degree of "Georgia Planter." The last of these was chosen as one of the three Georgia planters to go to the national convention at Kansas City in November. While there, he was the only Georgia representative to be promoted to the highest degree, that of "American Planter." Five years ago, at the age of fourteen, this same boy started to earn money to purchase a farm of his own; last summer he made the last payment on an eighty-acre farm which cost him five hundred dollars.

This year, with forty all-day students enrolled in the agricultural department of the Seminary, and with the possibility of an enrollment of at least forty farmers in the evening class this Spring, there is every reason for hoping for the continuation of the cooperation which has made such successes possible.

## BABBITT COMES TO THE MOUNTAINS

WARREN H. WILSON

I met this distinguished American in a county seat town; but I was so used to his back-slapping ways that I did not recognize how alien he was in the mountains until a mountaineer came into the group from a cove twenty miles away. I observed that the mountaineer was greeted with none of the effusion of heartiness that had hailed the entrance of others into the group. He stood a little straighter and said, "How do, Elmer," and the answer was given in the same erect posture, "How do, Tom." The others were townsmen, the sons of mountaineers, now engaged in trade. They had the manners of all members of Rotary Clubs everywhere. Here was the mountain tiller of the soil, whose mother still wove homespun at her loom, and who himself tilled the steep sides of his cove. Between him and his cousins on Main Street was the distance of twenty miles'

mountain trail; he had come from the age of homespun to the era of stores—and *they* were running the stores.

With the day of cash comes Babbitt. He buys eggs and corn, sells the products of manufacture, runs mills, manages mines, and pays wages. Babbitt believes in work and in progress. He boosts and "promotes the town." So he is found everywhere there are stores, factories, agencies; and does his business from trucks, at platforms, in newspaper offices, at the desk, and in all the enterprises that gather round the railway stations.

The public schools are Babbitt's universities; they educate the masses and he believes in mass-production, of flivers and of graduates. The older schools, such as they were, held an ideal of culture for the individual. But the public schools promise a mass-uniformity in

the attainment of "a job." The older education fitted the student to understand his parents and to live well at home. The public schools succeed in making him unlike his parents, and through them he is inspired to wear the clothes and attain the manners of "business."

Unfortunately the Babbitt spirit is agreeable to the mind of the mountaineer—at first. It promises the satisfaction of wants. Babbitt matches wits, and the mountaineer also is cunning. Babbitt glorifies the sharper; and nowhere is the sharper more respected than in American rural settlements. Nowhere is the desire for goods so fervent as among farmers too long confined to subsistence farming on poor lands. One wonders sometimes why the age of homespun vanished so suddenly. There was no reason given; at the advent of the first store the loom stopped in the big room, the rifle was hung on the wall, and the dye-pot was cast out behind the house. The conquest of the mountaineer by Main Street came suddenly. It had always involved a struggle to secure goods for the mountain homes; and the "public works" brought cash. With cash came Babbitt. Living by one's wits, which had been an ideal only occasionally enjoyed, became actual experience, enjoyed every day by a powerful though limited class.

There are some "missions" that obey the Babbitt spirit. They center upon the store. They even open store and sell, for what they will bring, bales of goods received for little or nothing. The distaste which the wiser workers in the mountains feel for "the sale of old clothes" is easily identified with distrust of Babbitt and the aversion which cultured Americans feel for the shoddy and boisterous ways of Main Street.

Contrasted with this temporary commerce of the mountaineer and Babbitt are both the old mountain preacher and the more serious missionary. They both hope for the preservation of the mountain culture, while Babbitt despises all that does not progress. He defends speculation, finds a reason for trickery, and is satisfied with nothing that is not uniform with all-American experience and use. To conserve a culture is Christian. Our Lord came not to

destroy the culture or the nation of the Jews, but to preserve it. Its destruction was by the Romans, who were the imperialists of that day. Regeneration is for the individual, in the discipline of America's individualist religion; but for the family and the community, the Christian churches prescribe continuance. The spirit of Main Street, which is carried by traders, manufacturers, and agents everywhere, is impatient of peculiarity, contemptuous of local difference. It is, therefore, eager to dissolve culture of local communities, and it has for the mountaineers only wages, ready-made clothes, moving pictures, and canned foods.

Is it not possible for the mountain culture to be fulfilled, rather than destroyed? There are mountain peoples on the earth, in Scotland and in Switzerland, whom all the world admires. Moreover, the American mountaineer wants to be left upon his narrow trails and in his beloved valleys. His rural populations decrease by a slower rate than the rate of decrease of the people of the fetid valleys. Cannot we learn how to help him to survive? Is it not worth the lives of devoted workers resident among these austere folk to help them preserve, and dignify, their own ways? Is it not a higher aspiration to teach them how to buy and sell in the world's markets, yet to stay at home in the high atmosphere, than to "sell" them the ways of Main Street?

To do so will require a greater number than we have now of schools which pay no heed to the mass-standards of the public schools. It will require more high-grade churches that exalt the worship of God.

The mountaineer society has been led by aristocrats, as so often is the case elsewhere. They have owned land and had authority above that of others. To ignore them has been the great mistake of most mountain missionary work. The publication by church workers, and even more by settlement workers, of missionary literature about the mountains in terms of the submerged and impoverished layers of mountain people gave bitter offense. Sometimes the story of mountain poverty and degraded living has gone back to mountain counties and done harm to all the educational and religious work,

even that under the care of intelligent, sympathetic persons. The reason is that the mountaineer society has had aristocratic leadership.

The school work and church work of the future, therefore, should, if they propose to continue mountain culture, appeal to the few or at least to those who want something besides labeled opinions and staple mental diet. We ought to have schools under the leadership of devout students who want to open the minds of their pupils. They should be placed in those communities which appreciate them.

We need churches that lead the people to the highest expression in religion, namely, the worship of God. We do not need better preachers so much; indeed those we have sent into the mountains have not been in native ability and fitness always superior to the mountain preachers themselves. We need in religion a new principle which the mountain people do not practice. I think it is a reverence in worship. It is not necessarily liturgy or the ornate building, but rather the austere worship of the reformed order that would seem to fit the mountain mind. It should be a religious expression suited to the superior mind.

All this is to say that if Babbity is going to provide so much for the mountains—so much of the canned and ready-made—we should be

thankful for that standardized provision and go ahead to do what will not be done in that way. I would even venture to suggest that many of the workers now employed in the mountains, as representing Boards of Missions and Settlements, who have nothing to offer except the staple materials—no ingenuity, no fruit for imagination—should be released; and we should concentrate our efforts on the support of a few able men and women, as many as possible of course, who awaken the reactions of faith and of home-loving ambition. For the mountain social order is in danger. There is no need to be afraid that mountain sections will be depopulated; in most cases they will not—so far as we can now see, people will live there. The only mode of life possible for them is a mountain way of life. They must live as people can best live on poor soil. There should be a dignifying of this mode of life by their schools and the churches. This dignifying must come through the appeal of religion and education to a few minds. It is a question, therefore, not of vocational education or even of agricultural training, but of the awakening of the mind, and the stirring of the intellect, and the feeding of the imagination. In this way we may some day have our American Highlanders who will equal those of Scotland or of Switzerland.

## PROBLEMS AND PROGRESS OF RURAL EDUCATION

MABEL CARNEY

One of the greatest thrills of my early childhood was to watch the men and boys break colts. One day after a particularly exciting demonstration of agility and cunning on the part of a western pony who threw every rider on the place and kicked herself free of all the carts and harness in her vicinity, my father calmly remarked, "There isn't much a horse can't do when it realizes its strength."

This remark has often come back to me in later years because of its application to human beings as well as to horses. It recurs especially when I think of rural teachers. For certainly

the responsibilities and potentialities of country school teaching are far greater than most people, even teachers themselves, quite realize. Indeed one of the greatest difficulties in the whole field of rural education, as Mr. T. J. Coates of Kentucky used to say, is that the average person thinks of the rural school "as a little house on a little ground with a little equipment where a little teacher at a little salary for a little while teaches little children little things."

### *Importance of the Rural School Problem*

As a matter of plain statistical fact this im-

pression of insignificance regarding the rural school is all wrong. For the rural school problem, in the judgment of no less authority than Professor William C. Bagley, "transcends in importance every other phase of American education." Much of this importance is due to the significance of farming in our national life—and throughout the world for that matter, since all humanity must have food—but much of it arises also from the fact that so many Americans still live in the country and send their children to rural schools.

The census of 1920, it is true, revealed a little more than half our people living in urban centers, that is, in places above 2,500 population. Most of this showing, however, is due to a half-dozen of our largest cities. On the other hand, thirty-three of our forty-eight states, all except the group lying between Chicago and New York and north of the Ohio River, are still predominantly *rural*, or have more than half their population living on farms and in small towns below 2,500. This means that agriculture is still the dominating industry in three-fourths of our states and that anything pertaining to its welfare is still of primary importance to all the people of our nation.

Among all phases of welfare for any people nothing is more far-reaching than the kind of school provided for the education of their children. So let us now consider the rural school and the comparative opportunity it affords farm children.

#### *Types and Enrollment of Rural Schools*

At the present time there are about 160,000 one-teacher schools in the United States and 17,000 consolidated schools. The one-teacher schools enroll 4,000,000 and the consolidated about 1,100,000 children from the farm (exclusive of the town children enrolled.) In addition to these there are about 45,000 two-teacher schools out in the country and in hamlets below 250 population, enrolling about 2,600,000 children. This makes a total of 7,700,000 children from farm homes on our national school register, which is roughly about *one-third* of the 24,000,000 children enrolled in all public elementary and secondary schools of the United States. In other words, notwithstanding our

great industrialization as a nation, one public school child out of every three still comes from the farm.

The proportion of teachers concerned with rural schools is even larger. In the one-teacher schools of the country there are, of course, 160,000 teachers; in the two-teacher schools 90,000; and in consolidated schools an average of five or six to the school, or about 100,000. All told this makes 350,000, which means that practically *half* of the 750,000 public school teachers in the United States are engaged in teaching children from the farm and should therefore know something of the social and economic conditions of farm life and of the necessary adaptations of the curriculum and teaching process to the experience and needs of country children.

#### *Comparative Condition of Rural and Urban Schools*

Notwithstanding the notable progress made in rural school improvement during the last fifteen years, much still remains to be done. This is most convincingly apparent when we compare the present condition of schools for farm children with that of schools for city children. Take the matter of *expenditures*, for example. Money is not everything, but it procures most things and is undoubtedly our best single index of the regard in which rural schools are held. Measured on this basis, farm children have only three-fifths of the consideration shown urban children. In other words, our average national expenditure per capita for farm children is \$75.00 while for urban children it is \$129.00. So, too, in the value of school property, which averages \$99.00 per rural child enrolled and \$299.00 per urban child enrolled. Teachers' salaries are equally discriminating, averaging \$855.00 for rural teachers and \$1,878.00 for urban teachers.

School term, attendance, and high school opportunity, with their conditioning factors of child labor and illiteracy, reveal further educational discrepancies handicapping rural children. The average school term in the country is only 156 days—a month shorter than in the cities, where it averaged 183 days. Owing to bad roads, distance from school, and home obli-



gations, rural school attendance is likewise poorer; while high school opportunity for country children, notwithstanding recent progress in consolidation, still appears to be but little more than half of that provided for urban children (See Bulletin No. 6, 1925, U. S. Bureau of Education). Child labor, contrary to general impression, is one of the most potent factors in rural school attendance and is worse in rural areas than in urban. Sixty-one percent of all child workers (children ten to fifteen years of age) reported by the Federal Census in 1925 were engaged in agricultural pursuits. Illiteracy, the natural product of child labor, poor attendance, and other educational neglect, is also bad in certain elements of the rural population, notably among the Appalachian Mountaineers and Southern Negroes, making the rural rate for the United States as a whole 7.7 percent. Even health defects, notwithstanding all the fresh air and sunshine of country life, are more prevalent among farm children than urban, because less often realized and more generally neglected.

Of all the educational disadvantages suffered by farm children, however, the most serious is the lack of professional leadership as expressed in the quality and number of well-trained teachers, supervisors, and administrators. Of the 250,000 teachers in one- and two-teacher rural schools, a third are not high school graduates; 23 percent, or 57,000, have had less than two years of education beyond the elementary school; about 15,000 have gone no further than the eighth grade; and at least 5,000 (chiefly in Negro rural schools) have completed only the fifth or sixth grade.

Even more serious than the teacher situation is that of the county superintendency. Here the prevailing evil is election by popular vote which is still practiced in 25 states for the county superintendency and in 34 states for the state superintendency. Professional supervision of rural schools is, when provided at all, usually of creditable quality, notably in New Jersey and Maryland, but is generally deficient in amount since only one thousand such special school agents are em-

ployed throughout the whole nation for the oversight of 350,000 teachers.

#### *Progress in Rural Education*

Let it not be inferred from the preceding statements that rural education is making no progress. As a matter of fact more progress has been made in this phase of education during the last fifteen years than in any other field. The difficulty is that we have had further to go and are still but on the way. Brief comparison of a few selected gains from the years 1910 to 1925 will make this apparent. During this decade and a half the number of one-teacher schools fell from 212,380 to 161,000. Consolidation increased from 2,000 schools to 16,600 and the number of children transported from 57,000 to 1,111,500. The county unit of organization was extended from 11 states to 21. The percent of normal school graduates among rural teachers increased from less than 2 to about 10. The average rural school term rose from 5 to 7.5 months. Rural illiteracy dropped from 10.2 percent to 7.7 percent. The number of rural child laborers decreased from over a million to 647,309 (which is still a disgrace). The median salary for rural teachers rose from \$317.00 to \$729.00, and the expenditure per rural school child increased from \$12.00 to \$75.00, or from less than half of the urban expenditure to three-fifths of the amount per capita expended for city children.

#### *Remedies and Needs*

In summarizing, space permits but the briefest possible listing of rural school remedies. Chief among these are the following:

1. Consolidation—or the modernization of the rural school system. An improved, superior type of such schools, placing more emphasis upon good instruction, is essential, however.
2. Adoption of a larger unit of school administration involving more extensive use of both the county and the state unit.
3. Better trained teachers.
4. More and better supervision.
5. Increased revenue for rural schools and a more equitable distribution of the funds now available.
6. An adapted curriculum meeting the specific needs of farm-experienced children.

7. A new and deeper conception of education and of its value on the part of both teachers and parents. This should find expression in sound community cooperation for schools.

8. There is needed above all a general nation-wide awakening to the whole farm situation involving school conditions and all other phases of rural welfare. This and this only will bring the ultimate solution of rural school difficulties.

In all this the challenge to those of us immediately concerned with rural school responsibility—rural teachers, supervisors, teacher-training specialists, and state and county superintendents—is unlimited. No more important task confronts the world than that of providing equal opportunity and advantage for farm-dwelling people, and in this the daily effort of the rural school specialist, particularly of the earnest rural teacher, is the foundation stone.

## HOOKWORM CONTROL IN THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS

WILLIAM N. KEITH

While the control of the hook-worm and the round worm is, strictly speaking, a medical problem, and is therefore the province of health boards and similar agencies, the writer has endeavored to prepare this article for a periodical the majority of whose readers are neither doctors nor nurses, because local health boards frequently do not appreciate the extent of this problem. The executives of the mountain schools and other welfare institutions in the mountains, if they do not actually tackle the problem themselves, may by their stimulus and enthusiasm—for we assume their cooperation—become to some extent the means of getting health boards to do more toward lessening or eradicating this tremendous handicap to so many mountain communities.

This suggestion is not intended in the least as a criticism of the mountain health departments. The personnel of many of them have come from sections of the country where this problem does not exist. The writer himself was a health officer in one mountain county most of one school season, and during that time he scarcely recognized the existence of the problem; his time was so completely devoted to school examinations, prophylactic vaccinations, the control of contagious and venereal diseases, etc., that, to the best of his knowledge, not a single specimen was sent by his department. That this is not so unusual is suggested by the reply of the full-time health officer of a neigh-

boring county, who had been there two years, to the query as to whether or not he had much hook-worm in his county: "No, there does not seem to be much. Why, I recently had five children who all had the typical appearance, and on sending away specimens of the stool, not a single one showed positive". The writer's reply was, "If you had examined specimens from 500 I might think you had made a start." He was glad on a subsequent visit to the Public Health Laboratory in Lexington shortly after this to note that 288 specimen containers and history slips had just been mailed to them. Health Departments will furnish franked labels; so all specimens and correspondence go postage free.

The only way to have any accurate idea of the amount of infestation by intestinal parasites in any section of the mountains is to make systematic, routine examinations of all school children. The percent of children harboring worms varies considerably in different sections of the mountains, and this percentage is only partly related to economic factors. Usually very little infestation is found in larger towns, and what there is can as a rule be traced to families recently moved in from rural sections. The cause of the spread of these parasites, to be given later, will explain this observation. Sections where poor "renters" have lived, and where the tenants frequently move from one location to another, will usually show the

largest infestation, especially of hook-worm. We sometimes find, however, as high as 75 to 80 percent of infestation with intestinal parasites—with a majority of those examined showing hook-worm along with round worm and occasionally dwarf tape worm—in a section where the majority own their own little farms, and according to mountain standards are not to be classed very poor. The infestation with intestinal parasites in ..... County ranges anywhere from 25 to 90 percent.

To explain this variation, and especially this great difference between the rural and the town dwellers, let us turn our attention to the principal causes of its spread. Soil pollution is the cause in the very great majority of cases, although pollution of drinking water and food, and the activities of flies, occasionally play a part, especially with round worm. Children in many sections of the mountains have never been compelled to use the toilets; also some of the toilets are very dilapidated, and nearly all are of the surface type. As a result the surface water, chickens, and pigs spread the material where children play barefooted. In some places of greatest incidence, the dwellers, usually tenants, admit freely that they have no toilets. They go on to explain often that "people of those sections have never been taught to build toilets", and it is hard to convince some of the necessity of building them now.

For the benefit of those less familiar with the habits of these parasites, we shall further explain that the eggs of the hook-worm, which is by far the most harmful of the more common intestinal parasites, get into the soil as a result of the habits just noted and hatch out under the influence of warmth and moisture into microscopical worms. These tiny worms go through the skin of the feet, usually between the toes. When questioned, many of the infested families have given a history of the children having had sore toes during the summer season. Reaching the lymph and later the blood stream, these worms are carried to the lungs where they again bore through the thin wall of the alveolae out into the air spaces, and from there they are coughed up and swallowed. Reaching the intestines, their more permanent abode,

they fasten themselves to the intestinal walls and suck the body juices. It is the action of these worms thus sucking the body fluids that causes the weak, undernourished, and anaemic condition of these children.

The most important fact to note in connection with this migration of the hook-worm is the fact that they do not multiply inside the body, but that each worm must have a part of its existence outside the intestinal tract. This is important as it gives an important clue to the control of the parasites. If we can get entirely rid of soil pollution by the use of proper toilets and by training, then we have only to direct our attention to medication for the destruction of the worms inside the body. Another important fact to remember in connection with this is that the climate in most parts of the mountains is cold enough in winter time to kill all parasites and eggs already in the soil, so pollution to be dangerous must have taken place that season.

In spite of the fact that worms do not multiply inside the body it often takes successive courses of medication alternating with tests to get individuals free, but when they are free they should remain so if precautions are observed. However, the symptoms grow less as the number of hook-worms decreases; we see marked alleviation of symptoms long before all infestation is overcome. The discovery of hook-worm eggs in the stools of teachers long removed from sources of infestation suggests a much longer life for the individual worms than most of us would suspect.

The life cycle of the round-worm differs from that of the hook-worm principally in the fact that these do not enter through the feet as does the hook-worm, but must be swallowed and hatch in the stomach and intestines. They are usually spread by soil pollution near the houses, probably by the younger members of the family. The material becomes dried and pulverized so that its presence is no longer suspected, and then children playing over the polluted soil get the round-worm's eggs on their fingers, and failing to wash their hands before eating, transfer these to the digestive tract. Often children with good habits at their



own home get these worms by playing in the yard of others who have not been trained so well, and so begin to show symptoms, and test positive on examination of the stools. The eggs of the round-worm, as well as the hook-worm, are destroyed by the freezing of the winter season; so the result of education along the line of such habits should begin to show in one season when treatment accompanies the education.

This matter of education, like that of securing a general test of all children, must be worked up gradually by those who are tactful and accustomed to talk to children. Bulletins should be the largest factor in such education, were such available; but the supply of these has unfortunately been very limited. One bulletin, "The Story of a Boy Who Never Grew Up to Become a Strong Man," is the best we have seen, but this, owing to the too frequent "lack of funds," has been available only in a very limited number, and this year we have been able to get none at all. In the absence also of a county paper, practically all this educational work has had to be done in the rural schools by talks given in language which even the smallest tots can understand.

The symptoms of intestinal parasites vary entirely with the degree of infestation; and we classify children harboring any type from "carriers", when no symptoms are noted, through the degrees of light, moderate, heavy, and very heavy infestation. Hook-worm especially is a very grave menace physically, mentally, and economically. The cases of heavy and even moderate infestation are pale, listless, weak, undernourished, slow in mental reaction, and with a characteristic inability to "get ahead," and seemingly with little desire to do so. Very severe cases show puffiness of the face, legs, fast weak pulse, mental sluggishness, greatly lowered resistance to other diseases, and in the case of adults total inability to work and support their families. We are finding that many who were once classified as lazy or worthless owe at least a part of their inability to infestation of intestinal parasites, particularly of hook-worm; and that many become moderately industrious and

capable of more and better work after treatment. The much greater progress made by children in school after even a part of the worms have been removed is frequently remarked on by teachers and school authorities.

Various methods of mass treatment have been reported by health authorities in various sections of the country, but we have accomplished by far the best results through the medium of the public schools. We do not wish to give the impression that even this is easy on the start. Many, in this disease as in others, expect us just to look at them and make a diagnosis, and repeatedly, at first, when we gave containers and told them about collecting specimens and sending them to the laboratory or bringing them to us, we just never heard of the patient again. Even when they were given out in many public schools, a large percent either refused to bring specimens or put stones in the boxes and played like tricks. They gradually learned, however, that those who did comply received the medicine, while they were ignored. When the next opportunity was given to send specimens, the percent would always be larger. Much depends on the teacher in this as in all other work done through the schools, but it would be a rare teacher who could start a campaign without one or two visits from the health officer or nurse. After the idea really takes hold of a community, however, we can get very good results in a majority of cases by simply sending the containers and slips to the teacher; and then after getting the report from the laboratory and the names and ages of those sending specimens from the teacher, by mailing the medicine, likewise under franked postage, to the teacher for distribution, or in rare cases directly to the parents. We always asked the teacher to try to see as many of the parents as possible so as to deliver the medicine and instructions; but occasionally we can get even more enthusiasm among the children than among some types of parent.

Along with the examination and treatment must go the campaigns of education previously referred to, and also efforts to secure the building of sanitary toilets. The pit privy, of which blue-prints can be secured from the health



boards, is the one we may hope to succeed best with in rural mountain districts, for the simple reason that it is the cheapest and requires the least skilled labor. By having them make the vault dark and even moderately fly-proof we shall also limit the spread of summer diarrhea and the fly-borne diseases. Again let us note that campaigns to secure better toilets are even slower than those connected with examination and medication among the very poor, and not all who refuse to learn are very poor. We meet the bigoted and stubborn, of course, but patience and tact will gradually bring a fair percent after a few years. Having all the school toilets of an approved type is important in leading the community to action.

Of course the details and methods we have given may not prove best in all sections, as the background as well as the personality of the one promoting the campaign must be taken into consideration. We believe routine examinations should be made in all rural mountain communities; and the medicine, which should be paid for by the county, should be sent im-

mediately after a positive test has been obtained. This we consider of the very highest importance, as the advice to "consult a doctor" seems to us worthless in these communities even where many have the service of doctors employed by mines, unless previous arrangement is made with them to distribute the medicine. It will be found from the very nature of the disease that those whose families need it most will do least to secure such medication for their children unless it is actually delivered to them and made free. Even charging ten or fifteen cents a dose proved unsuccessful with us in the heavily infested sections, owing to their intense poverty, and the fact that more than one dose is needed to effect a cure.

For the general good of the cause, the writer will be glad to give more detailed information or to answer questions for any who cannot secure help from local health boards, but he will also refer all to their State Health Departments for circulars and information which they are prepared and glad to give.

## A MOUNTAIN PARABLE

*The Stuff Between the Stones*

MAY JUSTUS

Uncle Eph Turner is the best stone mason on the mountain. The chimneys and fireplaces that he builds are the pride of their owners and the envy of all outlanders. His lines are as straight and true as Uncle Eph himself, and the patience with which he lays the blocks is the patience of the hills from which they came.

I watched Uncle Eph Turner working away as he built a fireplace for me. How easily he placed the stones and set them in their place! I admired the skill of his workmanship and I felt obliged to praise him. He spread a layer of mortar smoothly before he answered me, and then he spoke in a shy, half-deprecating manner.

"I do my work," he said simply, "same as you and other folks. You couldn't maybe manage to shift one o' these here rocks into place,

but then I'd have as hard a time in tryin' to write out a letter."

I considered this while Uncle Eph spread the mortar a little more smoothly.

"I think o' things while I work," he said, "I think a lot about people. It's wonderful-like the work there is, and the folks there is to do it. There's big folks and little folks, and big jobs and little uns. Me, now, I don't claim to be big at all, but I know how to build a chimney. The folks in the world that have big jobs are like these blocks I am laying. They're mighty important, these blocks are, and the city folks all like 'em. They stand around same as you, and say a lot about 'em—how mighty pretty they be, and wonderful, and all. But there's a little bit more to a chimney place than the blocks o' stone that are in it, and that's the

stuff that's between 'em to hold 'em fast together. Some folks are like that, too. I reckon I'm one of 'em. Kind o' stick between things and fill up a crack!"

Uncle Eph laughed aloud in appreciation of

his philosophy, and I smiled back at him, nodding my head to show that I agreed with him fully. Uncle Eph went on laying mortar—the stuff that hides between the stones and holds them fast together.

### Our Contributors

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